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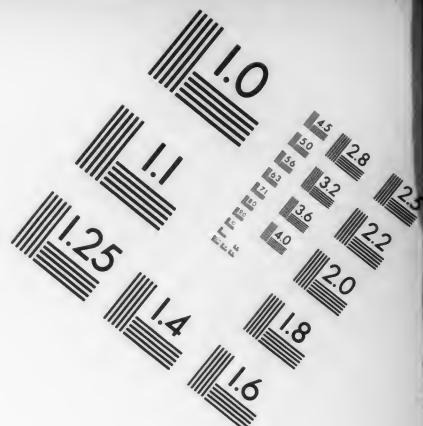
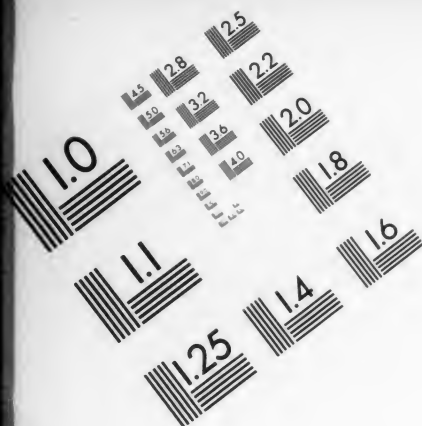


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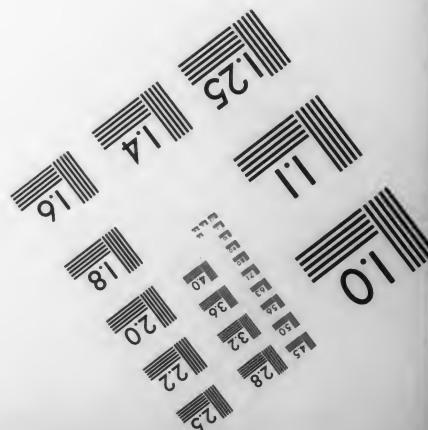
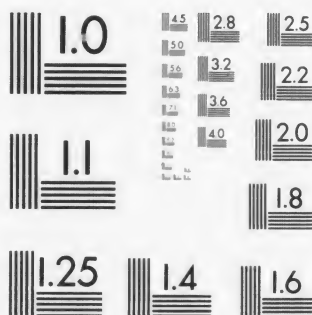
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Notes on Latin Synizesis

ROBERT S. RADFORD

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NOTES ON LATIN SYNIZESIS

BY ROBERT S. RADFORD

I. THE RELATION OF OLD LATIN SYNIZESIS TO THE SENTENCE-ACCENT

There is no more familiar phenomenon in the verse of the early Latin dramatists than the quantitative reduction of words which show a vowel in hiatus, e. g., *cos*, *eorum*, *deos*, *deorum*, *fui*, *fuisti*, yet the precise manner in which this reduction has taken place is still a matter of discussion among philologists. According to some critics, iambic shortening is the real influence at work here, and we should pronounce *ěös*, *ěörum*, *děörum*, etc.; according to others, a slurring of the first of the two vowels has taken place, and we have to recognize in the treatment of such cases that procedure which is commonly termed by the ancient metrists synizesis and by Romance scholars diphthongalization.¹ The latter explanation, which finds strong support in the synizesis phenomena of many other Indo-European languages,² has always commended itself to the majority of Plautine students, but, in becoming its exponents, the latter have usually been content to employ the term 'synizesis' in too vague and indefinite a sense. This word has, in fact, a somewhat variable meaning, and the three great periods of the Roman language, viz., the Old Latin, the Classical, and the Romance, show, upon the whole, three fairly distinct types of the synizesis process. For although all synizesis

¹Diphthongalization is not precisely the same process as Old Latin synizesis (*Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.* XXXVI, pp. 170 ff., 179), but the two processes have many points of similarity, and are often identified (cf. Schuchardt *Vokalismus des Vulgärlateins* II, p. 510).

²For example, the Romance possessives are derived as a rule from dissyllabic *meum*, *tuum*, etc., but they often develop independently a diphthongal pronunciation very similar to that of Old Latin. Thus, in O. Span., *mîo*, *mîa* are almost invariably monosyllabic in the proclitic position (*Cornu Romania* XIII, pp. 307 ff.; cf. *Trans.* XXXVI, p. 195, n. 1), and a similar treatment existed in Provençal, as the following lines from Appel's *Provençal. Chrestomathie* will serve to illustrate; No. 108 (p. 159), 144 (*La nobla leyçon*): *diczent: vene vos en, li beneit del mîo payre*; No. 74 (p. 111), 29 (*Raimon Gaucelm*) *de la mîa mort, per so siatz a mal mes*.

rests upon the tendency of the short vowels *i* (*e*) and *u* in hiatus to assume a semi-vocalic character, and no thoroughgoing distinction can consequently be made between Greek and Roman usage (Zander *Vers. Ital.*, p. cxxvii), yet it is true that the type which is usual in Greek and Classical Latin is chiefly employed as a convenient and an artistic device for the purpose of introducing difficult word-forms into the stately and sonorous movement of the verse (*Trans.*, p. 167).¹ The synizesis of Old Latin dialogue verse, on the other hand, is entirely free from poetic artifice and wholly spontaneous in its character. Finally, the extensive synizesis of the Late Latin period often causes the semi-vowel *i* to merge itself in a preceding consonant, to which it gives a palatal character, as seen in Fr. singe from **simya*, bras from **bracyum*, etc. (Lindsay *Lat. Lang.*, pp. 81, 144, 263).

It is not sufficient then to speak of synizesis in general terms, but it is necessary to inquire specifically into the extent, the cause and the real character of the Old Latin variety. Hence I have sought to show at some length in an article published in the *Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc.* XXXVI (1905), pp. 158 ff., that precisely that sequence of syllables and that position of the accent which causes iambic shortening in the case of vowels separated by a consonant, has produced synizesis in the case of the half-vowels *i* (*e*) and *u* in hiatus. Thus we find the difficult quantitative sequence - - - alike in *dōmī frātrem* and in *mēūm frātrem*, but the method which is employed in escaping from the difficulty is different in the two examples. In cases like the first, the Romans naturally tended, as they hastened to pronounce the following accented syllable, to shorten the second syllable of iambic words and word-beginnings, thus giving rise to the phenomena of Brevis Brevians, e. g., *dōmī frātrem*, *vōlūptātem*; in cases like the second, however, the language offers a simpler and an easier method of removing the difficulty in question through the slurring of the initial syllable of the iambic word or word-beginning, and thus exhibits the varied phenomena of Brevis Coalescens, e. g., *(e)ōrāndem*, *l(i)ēnōsus*, *m(e)ūm frātrem*. With the weakening

¹This is also the character of the synizesis which is admitted in Old Latin anapaestic verse, if synizesis be the true explanation of such phenomena, e. g., *aur(e)ās*; cf. Zander *Vers. Ital.*, pp. cxxvi ff.

of *mēūm* in the last example, we may well compare, as Professor Fay kindly suggests to me, the unemphatic and colloquial English possessive which is heard in 'mī Lord,' 'mī brother,' 'mī friend,' and the like.

Although many points of similarity, as has just been indicated, exist between iambic shortening and synizesis, there are also important points of difference, and the numerous cases like *debrum*, *edmus*, *quiēto*, *tuām-rem*, *meō-quidem* show us plainly that we cannot possibly read all iambic words and word-beginnings with shortening (e. g., *dēōrum*, *ēāmus*, *tūām-rem*, etc.), and so remove synizesis entirely from the dramatic poets, as C. F. W. Maller, Skutsch, and Havet have proposed to do. In addition, the vulgar Latin forms of a later period should be closely compared with the early Latin phenomena. These have been most fully collected from late inscriptions and from MSS by Schuchardt, *Vokalismus des Vulgärlateins* II, pp. 441-519; III, pp. 295-311, and are referred by him to various subdivisions.¹ The following citations are especially noteworthy: *des* (*zes*), *debus* (*zebus*), *de* for *dies*,

¹Schuchardt's treatment of this whole subject is a valuable and suggestive one. He points out (II, p. 443) that three phenomena are comprehended as final results under the term synizesis: (1) Consonantization, 'Konsonantierung,' e. g., *gēnuā* Verg. *A.* v. 432; (2) Elision, e. g., *sem(i)animes* Verg. *A.* x. 396; (3) Contraction, 'Kontraktion,' 'Zusammenziehung,' e. g., *reice* Verg. *E.* iii. 96. To the consonantization of the semi-vowels (II, pp. 442, 502) he does not assign an especially important rôle, but classifies his material chiefly under the phenomena of 'elision' (II, pp. 441 ff.) and 'contraction' (II, pp. 505 ff., 510 ff.). While admitting the extreme difficulty of distinguishing sharply between the two last-named processes, Schuchardt adopts the criterion that 'elision' preserves the quality of the second vowel, as in *Thodorus*, *debus*, *quescit*, while 'improper contraction' preserves that of the first vowel, as in *Theodorus*, *dibus*, *quiscit* (II, p. 442). The proposed criterion is, in my judgment, far from being always a conclusive or a satisfactory one, and leads to a frequent separation of examples which properly belong together. Thus the forms *debus* and *dibus*, *quescit* and *quiscit*, which Schuchardt is compelled to treat separately (II, pp. 445 ff. and III, pp. 295 ff.; II, pp. 513 ff. and III, pp. 310 ff.) may very possibly all alike be the result of contraction, and the variant spelling in these cases probably points only to a pronunciation of the vowel which is intermediate between *e* and *i*. It seems safe then to adopt Schuchardt's first form of statement (II, p. 442) and to conclude simply that in all the cases in question the two vowels form a syllabic unity and thus produce 'diphthongalization,' the latter term being here used in a sufficiently broad sense to include combinations like *ai* as well as those like *ai*. Schuchardt is clearly correct, however, when he maintains further that the word-accent affords no certain criterion between the two processes: "through inversion of the accent a contraction-diphthong may arise out of an elision-diphthong, and vice versa. Beside *noſitus* = *neōſitus* = *neōſitus* stands *neſitus* = *neōſitus*; so *ſos* = *ſuōs* = *ſuōs* = *ſuōs* (II, p. 443; III, p. 333); *des* = *dēs* = *dēs* = *dēs* (II, p. 445); *caprēola* = *caprēola* = *caprēola* = *caprēola* (I, p. 427)."

diebus, *die* (II, p. 445; III, p. 295; I, p. 67 ff.; cf. Seelmann, *Ausspr. d. Lat.*, pp. 239, 323); *dis*, *di(s)*, *dibus* for *dies*, etc. (II, p. 513 f.; III, p. 310); *dae*, *do* for *daae*, *deo* (II, p. 463; III, p. 298); *dende* for *deinde* (II, p. 513); *andem* for *eandem* (II, p. 463); *sa*, *so*, *su* (abl.) for *sua*, etc. (II, pp. 464 ff.); *dos* for *duos* (II, p. 467);¹ *dodeci* for *duodecim* (II, p. 467);² *quescit*, *Quetus*, *quiscit*, *Quitus* for *quiescit*, *Quietus* (II, pp. 448 ff., 514 f.; III, p. 296); *pulla*, *pullae* for *puella*, *puellae* (II, p. 518; *fustis*,³ *fut* for *fuistis*, *fuit* (II, p. 519).⁴

Schuchardt makes no mistake, I think, in repeatedly comparing these late and vulgar spellings with the Old Latin phenomena (*Vokalismus* II, pp. 444, 464, 511, etc.).⁵ The early and the late Latin forms alike give evidence of the weakness of the semi-vowel in hiatus, and it does not seem unreasonable to suppose that the Old Latin dissyllabic pronunciations of *quiescit*, *puella*, *fuistis*, *eandem*, *deinde* (*Trans.*, p. 182) were always largely pre-

¹Cf. the Umbr. contracted form *dur* 'duo,' from **duūr*, **duōs*, Buck *Grammar of Oscan and Umbrian*, §§ 54, 82; cf. also Span. *dos*, Pg. *dois*, Fr. *deux*, Wal. *doi*.

²Cf. Ital. *dodici*, Span. *doce*, Pg. *doce*, Pr. *doze*.

³Cf. Ital. *foste*, Pg. *foste*, Pr. *fotz*, Fr. *fâtes*.

⁴On the early popular form *fut* (cf. Ital. *fu*, Pg. *foi*, Pr. *fo*, Fr. *fât*), see also W. Meyer, *K. Z.* XXX, p. 341. The precise manner in which the synizesis forms *fustis* and *pulla* have arisen is not quite clear. The vulgar *pulla* might perhaps be explained as derived from the original form **pūerula* (Vanicek *Etymol. Wörterbuch*, p. 550) through the intermediate stages **pū(e)rula*, *pūr 'la*, but Schuchardt's explanation (II, p. 511) of a contraction-diphthong due to inversion of the accent, i. e., a shift of the accent from the first to the second element of the diphthongal sound, is also an attractive one (see also above, p. 155, n. 1): "Der Wortakzent ist hierbei zunächst indifferent. Aus *puella*, *fuisse* wurden allerdings zunächst *puēlla*, *fūisse*, dann aber (wie sp. *veinte* = *veinte*, fr. *empereur* = *empereōr* = *empereōr*) *pūella*, *fūisse*, wie aus den Schreibungen *pulla*, *fusse* hervorgeht. Daher scheint die Corssen'sche Annahme der Betonung *pūella*, *fūisse* (II, 212 fg.) für die Messungen *puella*, *fuisse* bei Plautus eine unsichere zu sein." Other probable examples of such diphthongs and long vowels as the result of contraction in Latin are *coepti* from *co-ēpi* (Stolz *Hist. Gramm.* I, p. 155) and *coctas* (Varro *R. R.* iii. 16; 28; cf. Caper *Gramm. Lat.* VII 94. 16) from *codetas* (Stolz *loc. cit.*, p. 219). Analogy may have exerted an influence upon some of these forms, but Victor Henry's assumption (*Comp. Gramm.*, Eng. transl., § 73, p. 84) that the contraction which is seen in *coepti* has first arisen in forms like *cōepisti* seems, upon the whole, unnecessary.

⁵The monosyllabic pronunciation of *cuius*, *huius* does not belong to Old Latin synizesis in the sense in which the term is here employed, but is 'probably due to the loss of *j* between two like vowels' (Birt *Rhein. Mus.* LI, p. 247, n.); compare also the shortened pronunciation of *illius*, *istius*. Schuchardt (*Vok.* II, p. 508) quotes here the plebeian forms *cus* and *hus*, also *cuis* and *huis*; see also Corssen II², p. 182, and Luchs *Studem. Stud.* I, pp. 319 ff.

served in vulgar speech and were essentially identical with the late and vulgar *quescit*, *quiscit*, *pulla*, *fustis*, *andem*, *dende* just mentioned.¹ This latter supposition, though an extremely probable one, is, however, incapable of absolute proof, since a new and independent development might also have produced these forms in the later language. In any case the late synizesis is considerably more extended in its use than that of the early period. For if we except the few and somewhat uncertain examples like *evenat*, *augura*, or (i) *undi* (*Trans.*, p. 169), we find the Old Latin synizesis strictly limited to the quantitative sequence - -, in cases where this is initial;² the later type, however, is wholly unrestricted and depends solely upon the weakness of the semivowels in hiatus. Thus the Old Latin type shows in dialogue meters only *dīe*, *ēat*, *quēscit* (*Trans.*, p. 174), but the late language employs also very freely *pride* (Schuchardt II, p. 445), *exatis*, *exuntes* (II, pp. 463 f.), *requevit* (II, p. 450), *facendum*, *adridat*, *Thodoro*, etc.

To return to the early Latin occurrence of these phenomena, the dramatists admit synizesis most frequently in proclitic and 'enclitic' words like the possessive or demonstrative pronouns and the substantive verb, which have little appreciable accent of their own (e. g. *m(e)um frātrem*, *(e)ām-rem*, *f(u)i liber*), but they also employ it freely in the case of many substantives and verbs like *dīe*, *deō*, *sciō*, which have the ordinary intensity of tone. It is in the treatment of this last-named class of words that I fear my former discussion was not sufficiently clear, but requires some amplification and enlargement.³ Thus, in explaining the occurrence of synizesis formerly, I properly attached much importance

¹Cf. Schuchardt *Vok.* I, p. 59: "Oft ist die Aehnlichkeit zwischen der vulgären Sprache des 4., 5., 6. Jahrh. n. Chr. und dem alterthümlichen Latein betont worden. Unnöthigerweise; dies alterthümliche Latein ist weiter Nichts, als vulgäres."

²The species of *syncope* by which vowel *u* was converted into consonant *u* after *l*, *r*, *g* and *s*, e. g. in *larua*, *miluos*, *reliquos*, etc.—earlier *larua*, *miluos*, *relicuos*—is still unknown to Plautus and belongs to a somewhat later stage of the language (Lindsay *Lat. Lang.*, p. 46; *Capt.*, p. 20). After other consonants vowel *u* is simply lost through this process, e. g. in *quatt(u)or*, *quatt(u)ordecim*, but these latter forms are scarcely attested for Plautus (*Trans.*, p. 174, n. 3), and are first clearly shown for Ennius, cf. Georges *Lex. Wortformen s. v.*; Gröber *ALL.* V, pp. 127 f.; Schuchardt II, p. 519; III, p. 311.

³Cf., however, *Trans.* XXXVI, p. 193, n. 1; p. 195, n. 2; p. 210.

in several cases to the weakened uses of some of these forms, e. g., to the trite or emotional use of *deō* and the parenthetical use of *scio* (*loc. cit.*, p. 181, n. 1; pp. 195 f.). No explanation can be really complete, however, which does not recognize the fact that the slurred forms of *deō*, *diē* and *sciō* occur not only in weak, but also in fairly emphatic uses of these words, which does not meet the very plausible arguments which the opponents of Old Latin synizesis advance at this point. For the latter claim that all iambic words like *dēō*, *dīē*, *sciō*, etc., which have a distinct accent, have their final syllable shortened by the accent, and therefore cannot well have the first or accented syllable slurred in subordination to the second. Although this argument has been confidently employed against genuine synizesis from the time of Corssen (cf. II, pp. 761 f.) to the present, I believe that it will appear upon closer examination to be wholly fallacious. Thus—to consider first the cases of iambic shortening—although the accent of the single iambic word is undoubtedly one of the factors in this process, yet it is now generally recognized that it is far from being the only factor, or even the chief one. For in actual speech we are not concerned so much with individual words as with the phrase or the sentence. Hence it is not the iambic word as such that we usually find shortened, but the iambic word in certain sentence-phrases, e. g., *volō-ſetre*, *benē-fāctum*, *tibi-dico*, *dedi-dōno*, *havē-frāter* (in verse also *dēdi-donō*, *hāvē-fratēr*, *vōlō-scir(e)l*). For it is clear that as the voice hastens here to pronounce the following accented syllable, it utters both syllables of the iambic word so hurriedly that the whole seems to the ear to have the value of two shorts; see especially Lindsay's admirable discussion of the Iambic Law, *Lat. Lang.*, pp. 210 ff.; *Capt.*, pp. 30 ff.¹ Hence, as Lindsay correctly observes, the words which were most completely shortened in the Old Latin period and to which the shortening process was first applied, are auxiliary adverbs like *bene* and *male*, auxiliary pronouns like *ego*, *mihi*, *tibi*, and subordinate adverbs like *modo*, *cito*, *ibi*, *ubi*, *nisi*. Similarly Skutsch (*Sat. Viadr.*, pp. 128 f.; Γέρας, p. 128) states the principle that "the first syllable of shortened iambic words was

¹Cf. also *Am. Jour. Phil.* XXVII, p. 434.

often unaccented," and cites as examples the frequent shortening of such proclitics and 'enclitics' as *apūd* (*mēnsam*),¹ *enim* (*vēro*), *tamēn* (*nēqueo*), *quidēm* (*prātor*), aptly comparing with these the shortening seen in *volūptātem*, *senēctūtem*, and the like. To these cases of weakening I should like to add the almost complete loss of final *s* which Leo (*Forsch.*, pp. 267 ff.) has pointed out in the subordinate adverbs *nimis*, *satis*, *magis*, and which Hauler (*Einl. z. Phor.*, p. 50) notes also in *prius*. Such examples show clearly that the principal factor in iambic shortening is not the accent of the individual iambic word, but the accent of the phrase or of the sentence in which the iambic word is placed. Hence, even in the case of those terminations which were finally shortened entirely, e. g., *o*, *or*, *at*, *it* and the like, we clearly have a right to assume that the shortening of such words as *homō*, *volō*, *dabō*, *vetōr*, *vetāt*, *dedit*, etc., began chiefly in sentence-phrases (cf. Lindsay *Capt.*, p. 33; *Lat. Lang.*, pp. 210 ff.), although it must be freely granted that the shortening process was here assisted by the accent of the individual word.

Important as the individual accent is, it is often profoundly modified in the sentence, and if we wish to obtain practical results in accentual study, our doctrine must not be one of individualism so much as one of collectivism and association. In questions of accent, we cannot, to be sure, neglect the study of the single word, but we must fix our attention still more upon the sentence, since it is the organism of which single words are but the parts and the instruments. Thus the substantive and the verb are universally admitted to be the most strongly accented parts of speech, but even their accent is often greatly weakened in the sentence in consequence of their association with other words, so that, in calling them strongly accented, we scarcely mean more than that they are pronounced with stress in the majority of their uses. We may profitably compare the accent of a simple English sentence such as 'I call the gods to aid'; if three distinct accents are

¹Leo (*Forsch.*, pp. 226 f.) appears to go too far in maintaining that the usual pyrrhic scansion of *apūd* in Old Latin verse is due to a definite loss of the final *d*. The whole particle was greatly weakened in pronunciation, and as a consequence the final consonant was no doubt sometimes obscured; cf. *Corp. Gloss. Lat.* II, 21, 40: 'ape' *rapd*.

observed in such a sentence, we recognize that it is spoken with sharp distinctness, but in hurried colloquial speech it is much more likely that only two accents will be clearly heard, e. g., 'I cáll (the gods) to áid,' or '(I call) the góds to áid!', while the words which are inclosed in parentheses will be slurred or treated as subordinate. Similarly, whenever, in a Latin sentence like *deos quaéso ut sit supérstes* (*And.* 487), the chief accent of the sentence was thrown upon *quaéso*, the individual word *deos* was made subordinate to a certain extent, and consequently the accent of the first syllable was not left strong enough to resist slurring under the existing phonetic conditions.¹ In the case of such a sentence, no doubt there existed originally two forms of pronunciation differentiated by the place of the chief accent, viz. *d(e)os quaéso* and *déōs quaeso*, and we may say in general that during one period of Old Latin both *d(e)os* and *déōs* must have existed, and that one or the other of the two forms must have been used according to the accent scheme of the particular sentence. Owing to the fugitive nature of Latin *i (e)* in hiatus, however, the former pronunciation proved so much easier and more euphonic that, in the time of Plautus, it was almost exclusively in use.²

¹ So also, if Plautus has a few cases (chiefly in the first foot) of neglect of common word-accent, as in *Amph.* 761 *de'disse dóno hódie* (cf. Ahlberg *Corrept. iamb.*, pp. 30 ff.), such a passage was probably not pronounced *dédisse dóno hódie*, but rather *dedisse dóno hódie*, the voice hastening over the whole word *dedisse* and coming to rest, as it were, upon *dóno*. For a somewhat similar view, which, however, needlessly suggests a word-group *dedisse-dóno*, cf. Lindsay *Capt.*, p. 36.

² In the case of forms like *deo*, *die*, it may perhaps be remembered in addition that, in vulgar Latin, *dí (de)* tended to pass into the sound of *y*, and at a later period into that of *z* or of simple *d*. This latter pronunciation gives rise to the vulgar spellings *do*, *dae*, *des*, *zes*, etc.; cf. above, pp. 155 f.; *Trans.* XXXVI. 200; Lindsay *Lat. Lang.*, pp. 49, 84; Seelmann *Ausspr. d. Lat.*, p. 323. Thus Lindsay remarks that 'the assimilation showed itself even in the case of accented *dí, ti*.' The trite use of *deus* in oaths and prayers, however, is probably the principal factor in producing in Old Latin the much-discussed contract forms *dí, dis* from original **deē (*diē)*, **deēs (*diēs)*, but the fuller discussion of these contractions must be reserved for a separate paper (see *Am. Jour. Phil.* XXIX).—So far as regards the full spelling of the singular forms, examples of *dio* and *dia* are cited from the *Inscr.* by Seelmann *Ausspr.*, p. 187 (cf. *Trans.* XXXVI, p. 194, n. 3), and *dium* (= *deorum*) is read by Jordan in *Cato* 47. 16. It is not quite clear whether we have here weakened forms of *deo*, *deum* and *dea*, or case-forms derived from *dī(v)us*, but the former explanation is more probable. One has sometimes been tempted to assume also (cf. Lindsay *Lat. Lang.*, p. 618) that we find *dīus* as the atonic form of *deus* in the locution *me Dīus Fīdīus*, but, in addition to other difficulties, very grave doubt exists as to the quantity of the *i* in *Dīus Fīdīus*,

One other point requires notice. We have seen that the slurred form *d(e)os* arises originally in such a sentence as *deos quaéso*; no sooner, however, is this form fully established here than it becomes possible to accent freely in verse *d(e)ós quaeso út vobis decét* (*Ad.* 491, 275), as well as to retain the original accent-scheme *deos quaéso*; cf. also *d(i)e quínti* and *d(i)é quínti*. To sum up: The objections which Skutsch, Ahlberg, and Gleditsch make against synizesis on the score of the accent of the single word *déō* have weight only if *deo* be the sole word or the last word of the sentence,¹ in short, only if *deo* be completely isolated and cut off from the society of its fellows, and thus entirely removed from the normal play of the sentence-accent. Old Latin synizesis is produced as the voice is in rapid motion and is hastening to pronounce a following accented syllable; hence it is excluded from the end of the grammatical or metrical sentence, since, in this last position, we cannot say *sit déō*, but, in order to produce synizesis, we must have the series continued, as in *sit déō grátia*.²

especially if the reading of *Asin.* 23 is correct (*per Dīum Fīdīum*, where *Dium* is an almost necessary correction for *MS deum*). Stolz (*Indogerm. Forsch.* XVIII, pp. 453 f.) suggests that the scansion *Dīus* in this passage is due to confusion with *dīus*, *dīvus*, and argues also for the existence of the form *Dīus*, which he derives from Ind.-Eur. *dīēus*.

¹ On the similarity of sentence-close and verse-close, cf. Birt *Rhein. Mus.* LI, p. 266; L. Müller *Res Metr.*, pp. 266 ff.

² The exclusion of synizesis from the close of lines which end with an iambus (—) was explained in my former article (*Trans.* XXXVI, pp. 165, 179, 195, n. 1, 208) as due solely to the principle of metrical regularity, but since, in the close of a metrical sentence like *frātre meō*, synizesis would be entirely dependent upon the metrical accent and could not occur in actual speech, it seems very possible that it is excluded from iambic verse-closes by the accentual conditions as well as by metrical convention. The metrical accent alone is probably capable of producing some changes in word-forms, but it by no means follows that its power is unrestricted like that of the word-accent; the statement of *Trans.* XXXVI, p. 176, probably goes beyond our knowledge here, and requires some modification. On the other hand, the non-occurrence of tetramoric *aureās* in full anap. verse-closes, which is pointed out by Skutsch (*Gépas*, p. 131), does not seem to me to require any special explanation. In my judgment, no certainty has yet been reached for anap. verse respecting either the limits of shortening or the occurrence of synizesis except in the case of iambic words. I myself am inclined to accept, for every foot except the last, the anap. scansions *pērdidī, aūrēās*, since these latter seem to me to rest on plausible grounds of historical development, which I have briefly stated elsewhere (*Am. Jour. Phil.* XXVII, pp. 430 ff.). As regards the non-occurrence of *aūrēās* in anap. closes, and its occurrence in the dactylic closes of the Augustans (*Trans.* XXXVI, p. 168), though not in those of Ennius, it should be remembered that the Augustan hexameter has its own ictus, its own

II. SOME SPECIAL CASES OF SYNZESIS

It remains to note briefly a few special problems and special developments of Latin synzesis. The first of these problems relates to the vocative of the possessive *meus*. It is important to remember here that this case of the possessive almost invariably occupies in prose the proclitic position immediately before the substantive, e. g., *mi fili, mi pater, mi fratres* (*Trans.* XXXVI, p. 197, n. 1), and it is clear that this position has influenced to some extent the case-form of the vocative plural. Thus, in the case of the nominative plural, *mei fratres* is only one of several possible word-orders; consequently nominative plural *m(e)i* shows perhaps only approximate syncope and is only quasi-monosyllabic. In the vocative plural, however, *mei fratres* is an almost invariable order, and here we find that *m(e)i* has been reduced to an absolute monosyllable in Old Latin, and may be fully elided before a following short syllable, e. g., *Ci.* 678 *m(i) hōminēs, mi spēctatōres* (anap. sept.); *Mi.* 1330 *ō mi ōculi*. In the latter passage, our editions (e. g., edd. min. and mai.) usually accept *o mei* from very inferior MSS, but the form *mi* is clearly implied in the reading *oh mihi* of BCD, and should unquestionably be placed in the text;¹ for the legitimate hiatus, cf. *Mi.* 1330 *ō mi anime*; *As.* 664 *mi anime*; *Cas.* 134 *mi Olūmpiō* (*Skutsch Philol.* LIX, p. 487; *Maurenbrecher Hiat.*, p. 162). Similarly, although many scholars question the contraction of Latin *iē* into *ī*, the ancient derivation of voc. sing. *mi* from **mie*, voc. of atonic *mius*, remains distinctly the most probable explanation of the form (cf. Lindsay *Lat. Lang.*, p. 422), and the contraction may possibly have

artistic devices, and its own special conventions to facilitate the fitting of difficult words into the framework of the verse (*synzesis Graecanica*). Finally, the total suppression of vowel *i* and *u* suggested in *Trans.* XXXVI, pp. 169, 204, cannot be considered certain; it is perhaps admissible to reject as corrupt the half-dozen passages cited in the latter passage, and to retain with Skutsch (*Ép.*, p. 111) only *St.* 39 *pol, mēo ānimo ōmnis*, since feet like *mālēvolēnte, sēquimīnī* seem to be also legitimate in Old Latin anapaests. Müller, who scans *attinent* in anapaests, is inconsistent in accenting *malevolēnte* (*Pl. Pr.*, p. 416).

¹The Pl. and Ter. MSS, as is well known, constantly read *mihi* for *mi*, *nihil* for *nil*; cf., for example, Ahlberg *Procel.* I, pp. 105 ff. Similarly, *mihi* is not infrequently written for voc. *mi*, as *As.* 689 *mihi patrone*, *Men.* 1125 *mihi germane*, *Mer.* 947 *mihi sodalis* (*loc. cit.*, p. 107).

been facilitated by the almost invariable proclitic position which it occupies.¹

I may mention also the fact that Latin has assimilated the present 'subjunctive' (optative) forms of *esse*, viz. *siēm, siēs, siēt, siēnt* to the two plural forms *simus, sitis*. Thus the much more frequent and more numerous forms have followed the analogy of the less frequent and less numerous ones, and, in view of the fact that the fuller forms remained in use to so late a period, some further explanation of the final outcome here seems desirable (cf. Stolz *Indogerm. Forsch.* XVIII, p. 470). Zander's explanation (*Vers. Ital.*, p. cxx) that the *ī* of *sīt* is not due to analogy, but is a Latin contraction of *-iē-*, is scarcely admissible, since the Old Latin form cannot well have been *siēt*, as he assumes, with iambic shortening, but was much more probably *siēt*,² even the hypothesis which is mentioned by Sommer (*Lat. Lautl.*, p. 577, n. 1) and by Stolz (*loc. cit.*), viz. that contraction of *-iē-* to *-ī-* may first have taken place in 'enclitic' combinations like *potisiēt* (shortened from *potisiēt*) is not free from difficulties. On the other hand, it does not seem possible, even in the initial iambic sequence, that *-iē-* should contract directly into *-ī-*, instead of into *-ē-*; for the occasional occurrence on late inscriptions of spellings like *dibus* (*CIL.* VI 25540), *Quita, inquitare*, etc.³ (as well as of *Quetus, quescere, requescere*), scarcely points to the production of a genuine *i*-sound in these cases. Hence I should suggest the fol-

¹Sommer *Lat. Lautlehre*, p. 446, also wishes to make use of the proclitic position of the vocative to explain the form, but the syncope of **mēiē* to **mēi* is improbable in the extreme, and is not greatly helped out by comparison with hypothetical *ill(e)*, *ind(e)*, etc.; cf. *Am. Jour. Phil.* XXVII, pp. 418 ff. Of course the contraction seen in *mi, fili, Valeri* and the like is due primarily to the trite and emotional use of these everyday forms; compare what was said above upon the contractions *dī, dis* (p. 160, n. 2).

²With respect to the orthography, however, the MSS of Cato give only the full form *sies* in the second person, much more usually *siet* in the third person singular and equally often *sient* in the third person plural, and they offer these full forms both in the middle and at the end of the sentence (*Weise Quaest. Caton.*, Göttingen, 1886, pp. 46 f.; *Neue Formenlehre III*³, pp. 598 f.). The earlier inscriptions also show only *siet* and *sient* in both the positions named. Hence Zander (*loc. cit.*, p. cxx) argues with much probability that in the middle of the verse or hemistich, where the Plautus MSS now show only the short forms *sim, sis, sit, sint*, this strict orthographical uniformity is due to the corrections of the later grammarians, and Plautus himself probably wrote indifferently *sim* or *siem, sis* or *sies*, etc. Our Plautus MSS (P) retain dimoric *siet* within the verse only in *Au.* 370 *rapācidarum ubi tāntum siēt in aēdibus*.

³Schuchardt *Vok.* II, pp. 444 ff.

lowing explanation as possibly accounting for the influence of the plural forms: Weakly accented forms of the substantive verb like *siēm*, *siēt* are necessarily synizesis forms of an extreme type in Old Latin, and therefore very unstable in pronunciation. In other words, they were regularly pronounced within the sentence very nearly as **sēm*, **sēt*, e. g. *s(i)ēm liber*; only at the close of the sentence was the dissyllabic pronunciation *siēm* fully retained, as we may see from the usage of the dramatists (Brock *Quaest. gramm.*, pp. 84 f.; Hauler *Einkl. zu Phor.*, p. 63, n. 2). If, then, before the beginning of the literary period, these forms sometimes became genuinely monosyllabic and were pronounced at times simply as **sēm*, **sēt*, the introduction, through analogy, of *-ī-* from the two plural forms could have easily occurred.¹ On the other hand, if the weakly accented forms **siēmus*, **siētis* were ever introduced in consequence of the analogy of the singular, they were quickly reduced to **sēmus*, **sētis* (cf. the reduction seen in *(e)ōsdem*), and then assimilated to the short forms.

I have stated in the first section of this paper that the effects of the expiratory accent are perceived most clearly in the case of weakly accented words, and I wish to illustrate this principle still further from the later Augustan usage. The poets of the classical age accomplished veritable marvels in checking the use of popular synizesis and in cultivating and developing a more precise quantitative pronunciation. Thus they restored *dēōs*, *sciō*, *dūō* and even *dūellum*, though this last form had definitely become *dvellum* or **dellum* in Old Latin (Birt *Rhein. Mus.* LI, p. 73); they rescued also very largely *meos* and *eos*, although they were compelled by the force of the expiratory accent freely to admit slurring (pre-tonic syncope) in *(e)ōsdem* and *(e)āsdem*. It is noteworthy also that they were unable to banish the slurred pronunciation in the case of subordinate particles which were uttered rapidly and with little emphasis like *prōinde*, *dēin*, *dēinceps*, *dēinde*;² cf. *quoad*

¹Cf. *int* (*Corp. Gloss.* II 75. 23) for *ēunt*, formed under similar conditions on the analogy of *imus*, *itis* (Stolz *Müller's Handb.* II³, 2, p. 161). On the other hand, since *audīunt* is quite stable in pronunciation, we find no form **audīnt* to show the influence of *audimus* and *auditis*.

²Cf. *dende* *CIL.* VI 30112; cf. also *quat* *CLE.* 470. 1; *qua ad*, *CLE.* 208, and Georges *Lex. Wortf.*; *quōd*, L. Müller *Res Metr.*², p. 324, and Brix-Niemeyer on *Cap.* 670.

(L. Müller *Res Metr.*², pp. 313 ff.). Vergil, it is true, had restored in part *dēhinc*,¹ and we find *prōin* restored in Priap. lxxxiv. 16; on the other hand, many of the best poets were in doubt about the correct treatment of such particles, and it is for this reason that Horace, Lucan, and Martial avoided *dein*, *proin*, *proinde* altogether (L. Müller *Res Metr.*², p. 317; Birt *loc. cit.*, p. 268). In general, however, the full forms *prōin*, *prōinde*, *dēin*, *dēinde* were attempted only by the very late poets who ventured also on *cūi* and *hūic*; the synizesis forms *prōinde*, *dēin*, *dēinde* were here retained by the classical poets, and it is evident that this retention was closely connected with the subordination of the vocables in the sentence and their consequent weakening in pronunciation. Thus these particles belong, with *ego*, *mihi*, *bene*, *male*, and the like, among the more familiar words of common life, which the literary language, in spite of its earnest efforts to develop the quantitative pronunciation, was unable effectively to withdraw from the influence of the sentence accent.²

It is possible also that the Old Latin synizesis of initial iambic sequences is still preserved in *dūdum* from **dūdum*, although this derivation was too confidently assumed by me in *Trans.* XXXVI, pp. 182 (183), n. 3, and 201. The *dū-* of this particle is usually referred at present to Lat. *dūr-are*, Gk. *δῦν* (**δῦάν*), *δη-θα* (Walde *Etym. Wörterb.* s. v.; Osthoff *Indogerm. Forsch.* V, p. 280), but it is still quite possible to defend the earlier derivation from **dīu-dum* (Fleckeisen *Jahrb.* CI (1870), p. 71; Bréal and Bailly *Dictionn. étymol.*⁵, p. 66; Vaniček *Etym. Wörterb.*, p. 359). The objection of Solmsen (*Stud.*, p. 196) that Latin loses the *d* rather than the *j* of the initial group *dj* is entitled to serious consideration, but it is not conclusive; for the combination *dj* might be variously treated in Latin under the influence of analogy or of dialectic variation. Compare the group *dū* which yields apparently both *b* and *d* in *bimus*, *dimus*, *biennium*, *diennium*, *Umbr.*

¹See example in Johnston *Metrical Licenses of Vergil*, p. 16, n. 2.

²Latin popular poetry, on the other hand, always retained synizesis in a larger circle of words; see the examples in Hodgman *Harv. Stud.* IX, pp. 144, 152, 160, 162 f.; 166. This later synizesis has much in common with that of O. Lat., but it is no longer restricted to iambic words and word-beginnings, and often resembles externally the so-called *synizesis Graecanica* (*Trans.* XXXVI, pp. 167 f.).

di-fue 'bifidum,' etc. (Stolz *Hist. Gramm.* I, p. 304; Buck *Grammar of Oscan and Umbrian*, § 102. 3), and compare the late and vulgar double forms *des*, *zes* (Schuchardt II, p. 445; III, p. 295), and *ies* (e. g., Fabr. viii. 41, cited by Schuchardt I p. 69).¹

A second case in which Old Latin synizesis is perhaps to be recognized is that of the particle *jam*, which is most probably an acc. sing. fem. from the pronominal stem *i-* (Lindsay *Lat. Lang.*, p. 570; Walde *Etym. Wörterb.*, p. 292; Bréal and Bailly *Dictionn. étymol.*, p. 140), as *quam* and *tam* are acc. sg. fem. from the pronominal stems *quo-* and *to-*; in its adverbial use, *jam* should be compared especially with Old Latin *em*, which is used both as an acc. sing. m. from the Ind.-Eur. pronominal stem **e/o* (Walde *loc. cit.*, s. v. 'em') and as an adverb with the meaning of 'tūm' (Paul. Fest. 53. 37 Th.).² If we assume the usual derivation of *jam* from the pronominal stem *-i-*, the question arises whether the consonantization of the *i* belongs to the Italic or the pre-Italic period. Some arguments may be adduced for the former view, which would evidently involve the operation of Old Latin synizesis. Although the acc. sing. fem. is usually written *eam*, the spelling *iam*, which is at once phonetic and original, is found repeatedly in the MSS of Varro, and the spelling *ium* is found in a Luceria inscription (Neue II³, p. 381; Lindsay *Lat. Lang.*, p. 437). On this hypothesis it is natural that the original initial vowel should be consonantized in the simple adverb, but, in agreement with the laws of Old Latin synizesis (*Trans.* XXXVI, pp. 173 ff., 183), that it should be fully retained wherever it ceases to be initial. Thus, in not admitting synizesis, the compounds *ēliam*, *quīspīam*, *ūspīam*, and the Old Latin quasi-compound *nūnciam* or *nunc iam*³

¹With *ies* for *dies* compare *Aiutor* for *Adiutor*, *CIL.* VI 3, 20752. Schuchardt *Vok.* I, p. 68, and III, p. 24, cites also late plebeian occurrences of *aiecit*, *aiuncta* and the like.

²An adverb *im*, the acc. of *is* (cf. *inter-im*) and glossed expressly by ἡδὴ, λοιπόν, is still recognized by Lindsay *Lat. Lang.*, p. 438, and Walde *loc. cit.*, s. v. 'em,' but the *Corp. Gloss. Lat.* (II. 75, 36) now reads here *i(a)m*.

³Langen *Beiträge*, pp. 285 ff., seeks to show (1) that there is a trisyllabic *nunc-iam*, which in sense is a more emphatic *nunc*, and which is used with the impv. or subj. in commands, and with the future; (2) that there are two separate monosyllabic words *nunc iam*, which mean 'now at last' in contrast with a past action, and are used with the present tense. This distinction of Langen's has been accepted by several editors of Plautus, e. g., Götz and Schöll in edd. mai. and min., Lindsay (*Cap.* vss. 266 and

would correspond in all respects to *āntēa*, *pōstēa*, *exeat*, *pridie*, *idēo*, *pērēo*, *ab-eo ad-eum* (*loc. cit.*, p. 173), while the development of *iam* would only have gone one stage further than that of the simple *ēā*, *ēāt*, *dīē*, etc. (*loc. cit.*, p. 210, *Add.* 1). Again it would not be necessary on this hypothesis to explain the vocalization of medial *j* in *etiam* and *nunciam*, which the current derivation from *et + jam* and *nunc + jam* confidently assumes, but for which a parallel can scarcely be found in historical Latin under similar phonetic conditions, as Birt has fully pointed out (*Rhein. Mus.* LI, pp. 70 ff.).¹ The assumption of a dissyllabic or only quasi-monosyllabic form *īam* in the Italic period seems, however, opposed by the form of the compound *quoniam*, if the change from *m* to *n* in this particle is due, as is commonly assumed, to the influence of the consonantal spirant, i. e., *quoniam* for **quom-iam* as *venio* for **gvem-īo* (Stolz *Lat. Lautl.*, p. 87; Walde *loc. cit.*, s. v.). It is

772), Morris (*Tri.* 3), etc. On the other hand, Ussing (*Amph. prol.* 38) and Skutsch (*Forsch.*, p. 107) unhesitatingly reject this rule, and although Brix appears to accept Langen's distinction (*Cap.* 266), he disregards it in practice, introducing *nunc-iam* with the present by conjecture in *Cap.* 772 *sūpplīcāre nūc (īam) certāst mīhī*. Any one who will turn to Langen's own discussion will find that he cites no less than six examples from Plautus of *nunc-iam* with the present tense; after explaining away five of these examples with considerable difficulty, he then bases his distinction upon the one remaining example, *Cap.* 266, while, according to his own admission, the proposed rule does not hold good for the usage of Terence (*Eu.* 561)! Since results obtained in this arbitrary fashion are of little value, it may be worth while to state the simple facts of Old Latin usage. There are in all fifty-three cases of trisyllabic *nunc-iam* in Plautus, twenty-eight of these being in verse-closes and twenty-five within the verse. On the other hand, the Plautus MSS offer a few cases also of dissyllabic *nunc-iam* within the verse, where the two parts are not separated by any intervening word. Thus the dissyllable occurs at least twice with the impv.: *Au.* 451 *īte sāne nūc-iam intro omnes* (where the ed. min. brackets *iam*); *Amph. prol.* 38 *nunc-iam hūc animum omnes quāē loquār advōrtitē*; once with future: *Poe.* 374 *nūc-iam dehinc erit verax tibi* (less natural is the scansion of the ed. min.: *nūciām dehinc erit verāx*); once with the present indic.: *Cap.* 266 *nūc-iam cūltros ādīnēt*. In short, the metrical treatment of *nunc-iam* like the metrical treatment of *a-suo* (*Trans.* XXXVI, p. 175, n.), is wholly independent of the precise meaning; thus we find trisyllabic *nunciam* in the sense of 'now at last' *Ep.* 135 *ī'llam amābam olīm: nūciām āliā cūra impēdet pēctorī* (Langen: *olīm: nunc iam*, but cf. Skutsch *Forsch.*, p. 107). It is true, of course, that *nunc-iam* is usually trisyllabic, that it is used chiefly with the impv. and that it is commonly equivalent to a strengthened *nunc*, but no other part of Langen's account appears to be established. Lindsay (*Bursian's Jahresbericht* XXXIV [1906], p. 208 n.) apparently still accepts Langen's distinction and seeks to explain away its difficulties, but his discussion shows that he is fully aware of its very dubious character.

¹Birt *loc. cit.*, p. 79, states the rule that *j* regularly maintains itself in historical Latin in the interior of words, wherever it occurs between two non-*i*-vowels.

perhaps possible, however, that the change of *m* to *n* in *quoniam* may be otherwise explained. Maurenbrecher indeed (*Hiatus im alten Latein*, Leipzig, 1899, p. 39, n. 4, and p. 84) has boldly assumed that monosyllabic words in *m* had already developed in Old Latin and in Plautus a hiatus form in *n*, and he finds examples of this pronunciation in *quoniam*, *conauditus*, *cunere* (= *conheres*, *CIL.* VI 3282) and the like, as well as in Ital. *con amore*, Fr. *rien*, Span. *quien*. This view scarcely seems supported by sufficient evidence, and still another explanation of the change may be suggested as a possible one. It is well known that the final *m* of monosyllabic words was regularly assimilated to the initial consonant of a following word, and thus freely appeared as *n* in the proclitic forms *con*, *quon*, *cun*, *quen*, *tan* and the like; thus we find *con qua*, *tan durum*, *cun dies*, *cun bixi*, etc. (Schuchardt *Vok.* I, p. 117; Corssen I², p. 266). An especially notable example of the assimilation of a conjunction *quom* is that given by Cicero, *Fam.* ix. 22. 2, i.e., *quom* (*cum*) *nos* pronounced nearly as *cunnos* (cf. Birt *Rhein. Mus.* LI [1896], pp. 94 ff.). Hence in much the same way that an independent form *con* has been developed in proclitic use from the preposition *com* (*cum*), and is sometimes used instead of the latter even in hiatus,¹ we may perhaps conjecture that a proclitic form in *n* has arisen also in the case of the conjunction *quom*, and that it is this latter which appears in the compound *quon-iam*;² the chief difficulty which stands in the way of the assumption of an original Old Latin form **iam* would thus be removed.

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¹E. g. *conire*, Quint. i. 6. 17 and i. 5. 69; *conivola*, Paul. Fest. 43. 8 Th.; *coninquere*, id. 45. 11 Th.; although Thewrewk (Paul. Fest. 46. 7) now reads *comauditum* and *comangustatum* in place of *conauditum* and *conangustatum* (id. 65. 8 Müll.).

²Further examples of the manner in which the conjunction *quom* and the preposition *com* (*quom*) have influenced each other, are collected by Solmsen *Stud. z. lat. Lautgeschichte*, p. 79.

